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ABSTRACT

A tentative hypothesis growing out of the study of the transiticn from school to work has been that it is the type of articulation between the institution of school and that of the work-place which determines a smooth or rocky transition. Thus, this review of literature concerns itself with the characteristics of the learning envircnment with the emphasis on the social structure of the school as it affects the learning and behavior of the student both in the present and future. The study was expected to clarify partially some questions relating to talent development, occupational allocation, adaptability of workers, training of workers, worker satisfactions, and performance. The conclusion to be drawn from the study is that the particular structural features of an educational institution such as the values and goals, the system of authority and ccntrcl, the reward system, the actual organizational subdivision within the system, as well as its size, the recruitment and characteristics of students, teachers, and administrators all combine to produce a particular educational experience. Variations in any of these should produce a different outcome. Related documents are avilable as VT 011 591-011 595 in this issue. (Author/JS)

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THE FORMAL ENVIRONMENTS FOR LEARNING

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THE FORMAL ENVIRONMENTS FOR LEARNING: SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Anita Heller

Second Edition

A STUDY BY THE
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CENTRE
MCGILL UNIVERSITY

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FOREWORD

This publication is one of a series prepared under contract by the Industrial Relations Centre of McGill University for the Department of Manpower and Immigration's Experimental Projects Branch which was transferred to the Social and Human Analysis Branch of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in July 1968.

The study includes a detailed review of the literature. It also provides a list of major organizational variables which social scientists have identified as affecting success and performance, and an analysis of how the variables affect behaviour. Suggestions are made about the provision of a theoretical abstraction of the variables to make them applicable in diverse organizational contexts.

The results of the study are intended for:

1. Classifying employment opportunities as a basis for prescribing compatible jobs for different types of people
2. Classifying the behaviour required for survival and success in various job settings
3. Identifying and classifying the variables now operating in educational and resocializing institutions
4. Specifying models for social systems in training centres.

The study was expected to clarify partially some questions relating to talent development, occupational allocation, adaptability of workers, training of workers, worker satisfactions and performance.

Dr. W.A. Westley of the Industrial Relations Centre, McGill University, directed the study. He was assisted by research assistants under whose authorship their individual reports are published.

Mr. J.M. Saulnier of the Experimental Projects Branch was responsible for the administration of the contract and the preparation of the material for printing.

THE FORMAL ENVIRONMENTS FOR LEARNING: SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

I INTRODUCTION

A tentative hypothesis growing out of the study of the transition from school to work has been that it is the type of articulation between the institution of school and that of the work-place which determines a smooth or rocky transition. This vague statement of course calls for a detailed description of those characteristics of the school and the work-place, which are thought to be of crucial importance in their effect on the behaviour and orientation of the people passing through and becoming part of the school and the work world in turn.

This paper concerns itself with the characteristics of the learning environment only. While it focuses on schools normally attended by children and adolescents, it is hoped that some of the factors identified will be of sufficient generality to apply to any type of school. The emphasis is on the social structure of the school as it affects the learning and behaviour of the student both in the present and future.

It is assumed that much of the learning is more than just cognitive or even the result of planned circumstances. It is assumed that much of what is learned is not "what is taught but what is caught", or as Jules Henry (1963) described it, it is the "noise" in the communication system that comes across most forcefully to the student.

Furthermore, since the relation between cognitive learning and occupational success[1] is tenuous at best (Anderson, 1967) we shall stress here all those other factors which might possibly affect the educational outcome (i.e., what is learned, how and why it is learned).

Before dealing with specific aspects of the school social structure, it is probably relevant and useful to make explicit the implicit view of human behaviour underlying this examination of the effects of school experience.

We are here following the model of man as spelled out by Kunkel (1967). In his words (and in extremely summarized form):

> The major postulate of the proposed model of man is that most behaviour patterns are learned and maintained (or altered) by means of differential reinforcement, that is, the activities which a group or society defines as good or desirable are rewarded, others are not and some may be punished.
>
> The model makes a minimum of inferences concerning man's internal state.
>
> The consequences of an action, usually rewards or punishments, are determined by the values and norms of a society or the group to which the individual belongs at the time.
>
> The values and norms of a group determine which behaviour patterns will be reinforced and punished in a variety of specific contexts and circumstances.

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[1] How this is to be defined is another complicated subject which will not be dealt with here.

> Since behaviour patterns and chains consist of activities which have been learned, it may be expected that, generally speaking, the actions of individuals will coincide with the values and norms of society, or with those of the group to which the individual belongs at the moment.
>
> Men's actions cannot be understood except in terms of the operation of the past and present social environment.
>
> Attention is focused on the actual operation of the social structure rather than on the individual's <u>perception</u> of or his <u>orientation</u> to, the social system.
>
> According to the behavioural model of man, behaviour change does not require the alteration of an internal state but rather the alteration of those aspects of the social context that affect the action which are to be extinguished or established. When a person's learning history is known and when the operating stimuli in whose presence an activity is reinforced, as well as the contingencies are observed repeatedly (or are otherwise known) any activity can be predicted with a high degree of accuracy.

The environment, both physical (ecological) and social, is seen by Kunkel as determining the parameters within which behaviour patterns will be reinforced.

In this paper, only those aspects of the school itself, of its setting, i.e. the social world of teachers and students, which affect the student's learning experience will be considered. We shall not deal here with the numerous studies concerned with the organizational aspects of schools that are mainly of interest to students of comparative organization

nor with such factors (of interest to students of occupation and role theory) as career contingencies of teachers and administrations, role conflicts, role set conflicts, etc., except insofar as they affect students.

II SOCIAL STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SCHOOLS

A. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SETTING (outside of the school proper but which affect the school)

Although the influence of the community on the school is not a one-way phenomenon in that there is frequently as much influence on the community by the school as vice versa (Seeley et al.,1956) there are nevertheless certain characteristics of the community and society which demonstrably affect the structure of the school.

1. Values in the Community Ideas about the "valuable adult" and thus about the function and form of education, current in any given society and/or community are bound to affect educational priorities. These values would focus both on the amount and kind of schooling provided. The importance attributed to school influence on the child and the corollary attempt to control the school by the community can be seen most clearly in those cases where a cultural subgroup has ideas differing widely from the majority or the established system. Cases in point are attempts by Doukhobors in Canada and the Amish in the United States to either prevent their children from attending schools which are not in accordance with their principles or to win the right to establish their own schools. Part of the conflict here centers on the fact that too much education is seen as harmful for a future agricultural worker or housewife. A similar anti-educational bias has been reported from Israeli kibbutzim. Other examples are the Catholic and Jewish parochial schools in the United States and Canada, which are affected by community religious values, and schools centered on language (i.e., cultural) values such as the English or French language schools in

Quebec and the rest of Canada. There are also, of course, various combinations of religious and cultural orientations in schools.

Less obvious differences in values are represented by all private schools which, according to Brim (1958) are to be understood as systems which are chartered by and derive their power from dissident subgroups of the society who hold their own conception of the valuable adult.

While the dissident cases of value conflict, mentioned above, point up the problem most clearly, it is probable that the majority of public schools in North America reflect the values of the dominant group, the middle class white Protestant (Catholic in the case of French Canada) group of those who have been settled in the community for the longest period (Mead, 1951). One result of this is that the United States urban school became, especially at the beginning of this century, a powerful instrument of the melting-pot ideology to assimilate vast numbers of immigrant children of different cultural backgrounds (Mead, 1951). In another, more undesirable (depending on one's viewpoint) outcome, the discrepancy between the middle class values of achievement, mobility and long range plans, etc., championed by the schools, and the values as well as the realistic facts of life of lower class children caused the alienation, rebellion or dropping-out of large numbers of these children (Stinchcombe, 1964; Corwin, 1965).

A homogeneous value climate, such as has been implied so far in this discussion, can of course make for a profound mutual influence of school and community (Seeley et al., 1956) while in a situation of interest and class cleavage, community action on the school can be immobilized (Vidich and Bensman, 1958).

Different writers have identified the following explicit or implicit functions of schools and colleges and the tacit transformation of function in reaction to outside or inside pressures: personnel office,

adolescent reservation, (Dynes, 1963) service institution, screening institution, elite school or college (Clark, 1962), mass instruction, promotion of scientific and technological advance, occupational recruitment, social selection (Floud and Halsey, 1958).

2. Power Structure

Turning now to an examination of the mechanism by which values influence the school, we must consider the power structure.

Since most of the sociological studies of community influence on schools were carried out in the United States, one must keep in mind an important difference between the Canadian and American school administration. The local elected school boards, which in the decentralized educational system of the United States most vitally affect the running of the schools and put them under local influence (Gross, 1958) must be contrasted with the system in Canada which is centralized at the level of the Provincial Government and affords the schools much less local autonomy and thus fewer possibilities for divergence (Boyle, 1966; MacKinnon, 1960).

The Canadian situation also makes the school less responsive to changing values in any given community. The dimension involved here is the directness of influence. While any school is open to influence in the sense that parents are its indirect clients as well as controlling it in their role as taxpayers and/or electors, the influence can be more or less direct. The most direct influence would be seen in privately financed schools and universities (for the influence of sources of support on universities see Lazarsfeld and Thielens, 1958) and the least direct, in a public centralized, government-run educational system with the public locally controlled system constituting an intermediary case. Individual principals and teachers also vary in autonomy.

Corwin (1965) holds that even schools in the United States are extremely resistant to evolutionary change. He points out that although historically, educators adapted to changing institutional values, e.g. from religious to business values, they did not readily change the organizational structure. The latter change, however, is in his view what is demanded by both the militantly professional teachers and the dissatisfied lower class. He feels that it is their position in the social structure which has historically blinded educators to contemporary problems. Although there is adaptation in the long run, there are short-term lags.

Once these structural and cultural lags are identified,however, enlightened government policy (particularly in a centralized system such as there is in Canada) could theoretically short-circuit these over-all lags. There ought to be a careful balancing, however, between school autonomy and central control. The dependence of the school on those controlling the resources (through taxes or otherwise) makes the school very vulnerable to outside pressures which do not always coincide with the educational, professionally determined, goals. There is thus a built-in conflict between the professional and bureaucratic principle of organization which vitally affects directly teacher satisfaction and thus indirectly, the students.

Another factor which limits the adaptability of schools is institutionalization, whereby an organization becomes an end in itself instead of purely a means of reaching an end. Procedures are formalized and rigidified in this process and adaptability is lessened (Clark, 1962). The participants and supporters of a school in this case resist change.

Unfortunately, much of the discussion of the interrelationship of community values and power structure and their effect on the educational system has been purely theoretical and speculative or very narrowly focused. Such hypotheses as "Administrative doctrines in education change as the values of the community change" (Clark, B., 1962,p.196) and "the higher

the status of groups demanding change, the more influence they have on the higher levels of educational administration and the lower the status, the less influence" (Corwin, 1965,Ch.13) and "the higher the level of educational administrators, the more responsive they are to change" (Corwin, 1965) await empirical verification.

Other related aspects of the influence of the community on the school are more directly mediated through the student body and the characteristics of the school administration and of the teachers and will be discussed under these topics.

3. Size of the Community

According to Bidwell (1965), the degree of urbanization alone does not affect the school critically. It is rather a question of the pluralism and segmental quality of community life.

Boyle (1966) found that community size had a differential effect on the aspirations of high school students. In a study of Canadian girls, in the final year of 70 schools in Western Canada, Boyle found that the population composition of a high school has a much stronger effect on the aspirations of its students in large cities than in smaller communities. An important but partial explanation is the differential success of high schools in developing the scholastic ability of their students, but occupational or social class values do not provide an explanation.

B. FORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL SUBDIVISION WITHIN THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

Aside from purely academic learning, there have been some interesting theoretical speculations concerning the learning that takes place intentionally or unintentionally as a result of the formal organization of the school.

Parsons (1959) concerns himself mainly with the allocative aspect of the school vis a vis American society and with the structural differences between school and family. He sees the school as becoming

increasingly the channel of selection as well as being an agency of socialization. According to Parsons, the main differentiation in elementary school is on the basis of achievement. Because elementary school pupils in the typical American school are equalized by age, family background, common task and polarization between the pupils and a single adult teacher, the main structural difference which develops on the basis of achievement is only on that single axis. The elementary school phase is concerned with the internalization in children of the motivation to achievement and selection of persons on the basis of differential capacity for achievement. Evaluation in the form of marks is the reward and/or punishment as well as the basis of selection. In elementary school and even more in secondary school, the opportunities for particularistic treatment are severely limited and the teacher emphasizes universalistic standards. Variations in the progressive, traditional dimensions affect independence - dependence training. The peer group provides training in interaction with equals and in sex roles. The fact that teachers change every year provides an example of an interchangeable person in the same position. Some minimal support is given the child in the elementary school by the quasi-motherliness of the woman teacher to temper the rigor of the pressure to learn.

In secondary school, usually after ninth grade there is bifurcation into those tracks leading to college and those which do not. There is a focus on the differentiation of qualitative types of achievement. There is a shift to several teachers, of both sexes, different courses, a larger school drawing on a wider area, exposure to a wider range of statuses, a reshuffling of friendships, a great increase inside the high school of extracurricular activities, the emergence of more positive cross-sex relationships, a sharper prestige-stratification of informal peer groupings. Parsons' assertions as to the functions of many of these aspects (not repeated here in detail) are dogmatic and speculative.

A similar treatment of the subject by Dreeben (1966) repeats and extends many of Parsons' arguments. He deals more extensively and explicitly with the question whether the characteristics of teaching and learning outcomes are in some way tied to the properties of the setting in which they occur. The school and the family are compared in terms of six aspects of structure: (1) size and composition of social structure, (2) duration of social relationships, (3) child/adult ratios and adult/child ratios, (4) composition of non-adult characteristics, (5) composition of adult characteristics, (6) visibility among non-adults.

Summarizing the kinds of experience afforded by the schools with particular reference to those available in families, Dreeben lists the following:

1. an expansion in the number of social relationships with individuals who are not kinsmen
2. the establishment of transient relationships, i.e. of short span between formation and termination, and not deeply involved (because a large number of persons is involved)
3. expansion in the variety of relationships with different individuals occupying the same position; with different individuals occupying different positions; and with non-kinsmen
4. a change in the basis on which each child is compared with other children (in family, comparison with others whose capabilities differ in respect to their developmental stage; in school, these are similar)
5. exposure to situations of a public nature in which the child is a watcher and is watched in activities and events not customary in the family, by other than kinsmen

Dreeben's main hypothesis is that pupils learn to accept social norms and to act according to them. The four norms dealt with are independence, achievement, specificity, universalism.

Dreeben starts with the empirical finding by Breer and Locke (1965) based on small group experiments, that social task experience has an impact on the formation of ideas (i.e. the creation of norms), and adds to this the influence of the setting. He then postulates that the experiences the schools afford their pupils - tasks, structural arrangements, sanctions, opportunities for the generalization of ideas and for the investment of emotions - can produce normative change - independence, achievement, specificity and universalism (but not only those). The norms of independence, achievement and universalism are considered because they are an integral part of the public and occupational life in industrial society. Dreeben spells out in great detail (which cannot be reproduced here) exactly how the structural properties of schools and their sequence is presumed to cause the learning of these norms. Again, empirical confirmation of his ideas, perhaps through a comparative study (experimental if necessary) is needed.

C. ORIENTATION OF THE SCHOOL. FUNCTIONS, GOALS

It has been suggested (Westley, 1967) that schools can vary in their orientation to success or failure of students. Some schools have a climate such that there are implicit or explicit expectations for the success or failure of students both while in school and in later careers. Such expectations might then have the effect of self-fulfilling prophecies.

In this area, there is a study by Burton Clark (1960) of a junior college with features which redefine actual or potential failure as success or which make failure acceptable and which thus have an important salvage function. Clark (1960), following Goffman (1952) calls this process the cooling out function in higher education. The junior college mitigates

the intense pressure to obtain a four-year college degree for those whom Clark calls latent terminals who are unable to achieve this aim but are unwilling to resign themselves to this situation. Some of the features are encouragement to accept lower status substitutes such as two-year programs of vocational, business or semi-professional training. This "soft response" sidetracks unpromising students by offering alternatives in contrast to the "hard response", i.e. weeding-out, found in state universities which also have to take in large numbers of unselected students. An additional feature is the accumulation of a mounting dossier of failing grades and unsatisfactory performance and confronting the student with this repeatedly in an intense counselling program. Clark identifies cooling-out features found in other settings, at work and training institutions where failure or denial is the effect of a structured discrepancy between ends and means. These features are: (1) alternative achievement, (2) gradual disengagement, (3) objective denial, (4) agents of consolation, (5) avoidance of standards. Clark points out that it is important to conceal the cooling-out process or it loses its effectiveness.

Other orientations which would have profound implications for the educational outcome for students in specific schools revolve around the function or characteristics of these schools. Dynes (1963) identifies a purely custodial function, which he calls an adolescent reservation, and an allocative function in respect to jobs which he calls personnel office.

Clark (1962) identifies the functions of: (1) service institution, a public service provided for clients, (2) a screening institution, a differentiation on the basis of ability as well as social selection, (3) elite schools or colleges or training centres for the future elite.

Floud and Halsey (1958) have a classification which overlaps with some of those already mentioned, such as mass instruction, promotion

of scientific and technological advance, occupational recruitment and social selection.

An interesting study of guidance counsellors in a California high school (Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1963) examines one of the mechanisms through which a function such as selection and vocational allocation is carried out. The authors question the assumption that class ascription is routine and non-problematic. They contend that the organizational production of various student problems is related to the bureaucratization of the consulting system and the professionalization of its personnel. Problems are diagnosed and interpreted clinically as well as individualistically. The blame for such problems as "under-achievement" is interpreted by the guidance counsellors to lie with the student or his family, never with the system, i.e. the school. There is therefore no critical examination of the school as such resulting from the guidance counsellor's work.

In respect to the occupational selection, the contest is not open; there is some form of sponsorship. The talent search favours those intending to go to college. There is discouragement of broad educational experience. The student becomes interested in delimited occupational specialties.

Sometimes there is a tacit transformation in function in response to pressure from outside or inside (Clark, 1962).

The choice of function made or priority assigned by those in a position to shape the various characteristics of a school will of course affect the school experience of the students.

It has been suggested (Corwin, 1965) that a school administration should realistically determine which function should have priority and not have too many or too unrealistic aims. Corwin thinks that this should be a crucial concern for the slum school. He points out that

schools have to specialize, officially or unofficially, since a hierarchy of aims will always develop. He feels that the social class problem of schools can be partly attributed to a lack of realistic understanding of what any one school system is capable of doing. Corwin advocates that lower class schools be given autonomy, independent financing and trained staff to deal with their own problems. This is in keeping with Corwin's hypothesis (1965, Ch.7) that it is more effective to encourage persons to preserve their own aspirations in terms of societal needs.

In addition to the goals discussed thus far, which are in response to specific inside or outside pressure, there are long term cycles of emphasis, perhaps even fads, stressing different aspects of education. Thus the emphasis on social adjustment, on getting along with others, in the recent past (Seeley et al., 1956) in North American schools has been partially superseded recently (variously ascribed to the impact of Russian scientific advances) by renewed emphasis on academic learning.

The values and goals affecting students can vary along the dimensions of homo or heterogeneity of values. There can be a monolithic or pluralistic value system. There can be a differentiation opposing teachers and students and/or there can be differences of values within the teacher or student group. Seeley et al. (1956) found that teachers' views on education were largely determined by the place and time of their original teacher's training. The teachers in Crestwood Heights, studied by these authors, were divided in loyalty to the experts who originally formed their views, for instance, Watson, Freud or Dewey. This was roughly a function of the teacher's age. But since there was also a rough correlation between modernity or progressiveness of ideology and professional standing, some teachers did modify their views over time, probably in order to gain professional advancement.

Another related process might exist, as found by Rasmussen (1965) who, in a single institution and with a relatively small number of subjects, found that as teachers gained experience they regarded their principals as holding more liberal ideals for their own behaviour. More experienced teachers also had a more liberal philosophy of education than beginning teachers.

Value climates among the students accompany the existence of various student subcultures studied by Clark (1962,Ch.7).

The three subcultures said to exist in schools are the fun subculture, the academic subculture and the delinquent subculture. This classification closely resembles that of Coleman (1961). In colleges there are, according to Trow (1961): (a) the college culture, where the dominant tone of the campus is an emphasis on the intrinsic value of scholarship; (b) the youth culture which stresses the lowest common denominators of undergraduate life, such as football, popular music and dating patterns and (c) the student subculture, bohemian and fraternity boys, 'greasy grinds' and highbrows, politicians and athletes, and other small worlds of special interest where anticipatory socialization is carried out. The relative predominance of any of these value systems has a crucial impact on education. For instance, isolation in the student world can insulate members against the impact of the university climate. (Trow quotes H. Selvin as reporting this for sororities in California.)

There are a series of hypotheses which have been advanced, regarding the impact of value conflict or value consistency.

"In a monolithic value system, it will only be the social isolates who chose deviant careers while in the pluralistic system it will as often be the leaders" (Coleman, 1961,p.333). No study was made of this.

> As a result of the value conflict between students and school, a student's selection of teachers' standards and rejection of his peer group standards is often tantamount to rejection of the community as a whole (Coleman, 1961,p.334).

The findings were inconclusive except in Elmtown where effects were found on attitudes toward education.

> In the value conflict situation, the choice of a career will be highly influenced by the student's reaction to an interpersonal cleavage (i.e. the cleavage between teachers and peers) while in the value-consistency situation, career choices can depend more upon the nature of the career itself (Coleman, 1961,p.333).

The findings, from data on Elmtown (Ch.10) - the negative relations with teachers caused a decrease in the number of students wanting to become teachers.

"The correlation between intelligence and scholastic achievement is lower in a situation of value conflict than in the situation in which peer and teacher values coincide" (Coleman, 1961). The findings, (Ch.9) support this hypothesis.

On the whole, Coleman did not find enough variation in the monolithic-pluralistic dimension in the high schools he studied to really test his hypotheses.

Vreeland and Bidwell (1964), in a study entitled "Organizational effects on student attitudes: A study of the Harvard Houses", investigated moral (as opposed to technological) socialization by relating a series of variables bearing upon the relation of power, affectivity and environmental consistency of the house organization to student values and attitudes. In respect to goals, they conclude that:

1. The direction of change in student attitudes and values is determined by the content of the house goals.
2. The College's power, and in turn the effects upon student values and attitudes, are a function of the explicitness of its goals.
3. The extent of value and attitude change occurring in a student cohort is directly related to the emphasis placed upon goals of moral socialization.

D. AUTHORITY, DISCIPLINE , CONSTRAINTS

In the field of authority structure in schools, we again find an area characterized by intense speculation and relatively few hard facts.

Etzioni (1961) defines schools as normative organizations with a varying component of coercion. By this he meant that students comply with the school authorities in response to appeals to their moral commitment and to the manipulative use of symbols. However, in schools, and much less or not at all in universities, coercion plays an important secondary role. The more coercion there is, the greater is the student alienation and since there is more internal coercion in vocational schools usually, the alienation there is generally higher (Etzioni, 1961, p.48). Some of the detrimental effects of coercion on the effectiveness of the teacher's role have been circumvented by externalizing the coercion by delegating it to principals or parents.

It has long been recognized that the teacher's role and the maintenance of the teacher's authority and effectiveness involve a delicate and difficult balance of affection and coercion, of instrumentality (task orientedness), of fairness in judging by criteria of performance, of being responsive to particularistic features of the children (such as family background, learning handicaps, etc.) and the use of expressive (personal, warm, emotional) acts to gain the child's participation and motivation for learning. Waller's (1932) was the classic study of this subject and he drew

attention to the paradox that to perform adequately in his office, the teacher is forced to violate the bureaucratic rules of performance. (For a fictionalized account of this dilemma, based on real experience, see also Up the Down Staircase by B. Kaufman, 1964.) The apparent need for expressive teacher behaviour is especially great in the elementary school. But even in college, Vreeland and Bidwell (1964) found that "the more attractive the faculty, the tighter is the effective bond to students, the more likely is the teacher to serve as a role model".

Jules Henry (1962) documents the exploitation by the teacher of the children's desire to please her and to do the "right" thing. He feels that this manipulation technique works well or perhaps only with middle class children.

There has been much speculation and experimentation in respect to amount and source of discipline in schools. Greater freedom was supposed to increase learning and motivation. One of the earliest progressive schools, Summerhill, has been described by its founder (Neill, 1960). The Summerhill experience confirms the following hypothesis by Coleman (1965, pp.101-102):

> If every vestige of authority and constraint employed by adults is removed from children, they will no longer react against the constraints but must necessarily set up their own which then constitute self regulation.

Coleman (1965) also formulated other hypotheses regarding school disciplines:

> Without adult compulsion, children will come to learn the attributes required for secondary and tertiary (i.e. relations with institutions) relations, i.e. all the things that are 'taught' in ordinary schools (Coleman, 1965, p.102).

However, the children of Summerhill were found to be not much interested in booklearning. As long as secondary and tertiary relations are of little importance in children's everyday lives, they do not seek to learn them on their own.

Coleman concludes that: "The source of discipline is not important and achieving control of his environment by the child through self or externally imposed discipline leads to learning" (Coleman, 1965, p.104).

Another approach to the study of discipline and constraints was taken by Stern (1962). Reasoning that what matters is not the objective characteristics of the learning environment but the subjective experiencing of it, he concentrated on the study of the separated effect of environment and personality and their interaction. To this end he developed the College Characteristics Index, a measure of thirty kinds of 'press' restricted to the description of activities, policies, procedures, attitudes and impressions that may characterize various types of undergraduate college settings. The test was also modified for high school. The test was administered to over 5,000 students at nearly 100 colleges and universities. Stern sought to elucidate such questions as why the acquisition of knowledge is largely unaffected by the use of either directive or nondirective techniques in the classroom; or why the evidence from student opinion regarding the relative merits of student-centered techniques is even more ambiguous. Among Stern's findings are:

1. The description of the college environments based solely on the press profiles appear to be recognized and confirmed by academic participants and observers.
2. The student's description of the school is apparently not a function of the description he gives of himself.
3. Students with different backgrounds (public school versus private school) at the same institution have distinctive need profiles, regardless of the field of study selected.

4. Press profiles obtained from student responses are highly consistent with those obtained from faculty and administration at the same institution (Pace and Stern, 1958).

5. Freshmen in the same college with different high school backgrounds (public school, private preparatory and parochial) describe their respective high school press in ways which differ significantly from one another (Stern, 1961). Of 32 colleges tested, the vast majority emphasize some degree of conformity and constraint except private elite liberal arts colleges with high level and breadth of intellectual press and emphasis on personal freedom and informality. It is interesting to note that the latter are the same schools or typical of the schools singled out by Knapp and Goodrich (1952) in a study of the collegiate origins of American scientists and by Knapp and Greenbaum (1953) in a study of the collegiate origins of younger American scholars of promise, as being remarkably productive. Knapp and Greenbaum found this concentration of scholarly creativity among such a surprisingly small group of institutions as to seem like a monopoly.

A third type of college identified through Stern's College Press Index was a category of 'fun' colleges, without any academic excellence and without faculty leadership or press.

So far we have considered the authority system only in respect to the formal authorities in educational institution. However, since the consent or compliance of the students is required for power to be legitimate authority, one has to examine how and why the 'formal' and 'informal' systems of authority oppose or reinforce each other.

There is a variation in the need for scope or pervasiveness of formal school influence depending on the amount of change or influence

desired. Residential schools or colleges, intentionally or not, have a greater influence on students. This is due to both the positive effect of greater possibilities of interaction in a controlled setting and to greater visibility as well as to the negative effect of insulation from other non-school influence.

Vreeland and Bidwell (1964) found for example, that "the broader the scope of the student's involvement with the college the more accessible he is to intervention and the more diverse the mechanism that can be employed (especially mechanisms for indirect manipulation)".

Another factor which modifies the balance of authority between the formal and informal system is recruitment and selection. Clark (1960) in an intensive case study of a junior college, found that non-selection is the most essential condition under which students impose their collective will on a junior college. It has to compete for students and this increases student influence. Clark proposes that

> the exposure of a college to a non-selected pool of students will always entail a relatively high degree of adaptability, compared with colleges based on selected constructed constituencies because the college is placed in a reacting rather than initiating position.

A study by Clark of an adult education service institution revealed a similar influence on its direction from outside (Clark, 1956). Clark (1960) developed a typology of educational institutions along the axes voluntary-captive, selective-unselective. Of all types of schools, he finds the unselective-voluntary, exemplified by the junior college,to be most open to a wide influence from the clientèle. Other types are:

1. selective-voluntary - e.g. private college, selective state university,
2. unselective-captive - e.g. public elementary school and high school,
3. selective-captive - e.g. private elementary and high school.

Stanton Wheeler (1966), in a theoretical discussion of socialization after childhood, considers the method of entering of recruits into the system to be of great importance. Counter-socialization, in opposition to organizational goals, through the collective action of recruits is made possible if classes enter the system serially. The older classes socialize the following one since new students realize very quickly that the older students who have survived in the system have vitally important lessons to teach.

In disagreement with this Becker et al. (1961) discovered that succeeding classes of freshman medical students arrived at the same collective solution to their problems and learned how to determine both the level and the direction of effort (i.e. a study of the faculty rather than of the subject) not through contacts with older students and interns but apparently as a result of being faced with the same problem under similar circumstances.

Wheeler (1966) advocates that if a change or break is desired, one has to get new staff and new recruits and allow no contact with the previous ones.

Since much behaviour occurs as part of an exchange process of compliance in return for rewards (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961; Etzioni, 1961) it follows that the possession of rewarding resources confers power. The examination of the authority structure in schools is thus closely connected with the examination of the reward structure.

E. REWARD SYSTEM. STRUCTURE OF COMPETITION

If people will do what they are rewarded for doing (Haire, 1956, Ch. 2; Hilgard and Bower, 1966, pp.26-27) then the behaviour of students in school is crucially dependent on the reward system existing there. We must examine what rewards are allocated by the formal school authorities and by the informal peer groups as well as the community at large. We must also

discover which rewards are actually meaningful to the students and thus affect their behaviour. Another question which must be asked is whether what is rewarded is actually what is intended to be rewarded. Are students rewarded for performance, for improvement, for creativity, etc., or for attendance, for complying with the teacher's opinion, for being neat and polite, etc.? The time element is also important since some rewards in the future may necessitate giving up rewards in the present.

To consider first the formal reward system, the following are some of the most important rewards: (a) symbolic awards of achievement such as grades, ranks, medals; (b) scholarships; (c) appointed school offices as well as (d) the promise of future occupational placement which often implies upward social mobility or at least maintenance of present class level.

With respect to grades and other symbolic rewards, it is important to remember that the child usually enters school without necessarily evaluating these as rewards. Dreeben (1966) points out that one of the first things the school must do is to infuse hitherto neutral forms of symbolic expression with rewarding and punishing qualities.

It is also important to consider the effect on students of possible bias in the awarding of grades. These are apparently not always awarded on the basis of performance only. A possible class bias operating against lower class children on the part of middle class teachers was documented by Hollingshead (1949) in the United States and very recently in Quebec by Pedersen (no date). A bias on the basis of sex emerges from the report (Sears and Feldman, 1967) that elementary school teachers are harsher with boys than girls in both discipline and grading.

As regards the other reward held out to students, future occupational placement, this can only be perceived and evaluated as a reward if it is actually delivered. In the words of Stinchcombe (1964):

> Among organizations none depends more on a future orientation than the school, especially secondary schools and higher education. If the school is well articulated with the labour market so that current performance is known by the student to affect future status in a specifiable way, then conformity tends to be high. If,however, the student realizes that there will be no payoff for academic efforts, when only manual jobs or a future as a housewife awaits him or her, current academic performance loses its meaning.

Hence Stinchcombe's proposition that "high school rebellion and expressive alienation occur when future status is not clearly related to present performance".

Much attention has been paid recently to the alternate system of rewards derived from the peer culture, the 'informal' student group. Gordon (1957), studying the social system of Wabash High School concluded that the dominant motivation to action was to meet the expectations of the informal structure. The most important reward given by fellow students, social prestige, was the reward most highly valued by adolescents in high school. Coleman (1961), in greater detail and using a comparative approach (ten high schools), similarly found that high school status among peers is what counts for students in his sample. This reward is not manipulable by the formal school authorities. Since these 'informal' rewards are given for achievements such as athletic prowess, social class, popularity with the opposite sex, etc., differing from those which are congruent with the formal high school goals, such as academic achievement, the informal reward structure opposes the formal reward structure.

Coleman (1961,b) then investigated why and how the informal norms of the adolescent subculture undermine the goal of scholastic achievement promoted by the schools. He found that the response of students

takes a similar form to that of workers in industry, holding down effort to a level which can be maintained by all.

> The students' name for the rate buster is the 'curve raiser' or the DAR, damned average raiser, and their methods of enforcing the work-restricting norms are similar to those of workers: ridicule, kidding, exclusion from the group, although scholastically-oriented subgroups can form and insulate its members (Coleman, 1961,b).

Coleman ascribed this situation with its implied conflict between popularity and academic achievement to the fact that scholastic success, in contrast to athletic success, means success for the individual and not for the group. Coleman asks whether the substitution of inter-scholastic and intramural competition for interpersonal competition could lead to the group informal norms positively reinforcing (or at least not conflicting with) scholastic achievement.

F. QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF INTERACTION. SIZE

Barker and Gump (1964) found a negative relationship between institutional size and individual participation in schools. They did not investigate academic learning. Their conclusion was:

> If versatility of experience is preferred over opportunity for specialization, a smaller school is better than a larger one; if specialization is sought, the larger school is the better. A school should be sufficiently small that all of its students are needed for its enterprises. A school should be small enough that students are not redundant.

What this interaction experience means in terms of training for different occupations remains in the realms of speculation (see also Bruck, 1967).

In the related area of student-teacher contact (a function of size), Newcomb (1962) found that different levels of student-teacher contact

(continuous surveillance, sporadic contact and almost independent study) did not cause significant differences in examination results, attitudes or amount of reading.

The student culture of the medical students studied by Becker et al. (1961) consisted of collective responses to problems posed for students by the environment. The perspective was worked out in the course of intense communication between the students. They found the social support and reinforcement necessary to behave autonomously and to some extent contrary to the wishes of the faculty. The students worked to impress the faculty and to learn practical things, neither of these having been stressed by their teachers.

III CONCLUSION

One can draw the tentative conclusion from the data cited above that the particular structural features of an educational institution such as the values and goals (professed and actual), the system of authority and control, the reward system, the actual organizational subdivision within the system, as well as its size, the recruitment and characteristics of students, teachers and administrators all combine to produce a particular educational experience. Variations in any of these should produce a different outcome.

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